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international wars through removing their causes than can be done by any other means that has been devised or suggested.

I have but just returned from six months spent in the settling of controversies between nations through the medium of a great international conference, which followed the customs and practices of diplomacy as they will unquestionably be followed by all deliberative bodies representing the nations. I believe that I know and understand the currents and countercurrents which impelled action and influenced decisions in that conference. It is not my purpose to review the conduct of those negotiations or to imply more than that they were diplomatic in character. But with this experience vividly in mind I cannot too strongly assert that international justice interpreted and applied by an impartial court can do more to prevent future wars than any agency, single or collective, operating in the sphere of diplomacy.

THE WORLD'S CLAIMANT NEED

The mind of the world was never more receptive to the idea of applied justice. Mankind has endured such terrible woes from injustice and lawlessness that they seek above all things the restoration of the rule of law and justice. The governments cannot ignore this universal demand. They should not. They cannot too soon set up the machinery and let it get to work in the settlement of the controversies which continue to arouse apprehension and concern among those who seek a sure foundation laid for a permanent peace.

COUNSEL FROM A SENATOR OF THE 80's

HON. HENRY W. BLAIR

[If sometimes we doubt the accuracy of Cicero's faith in young men for action and old men for counsel, Henry W. Blair, United States Senator from New Hampshire 1879-91, has in his letter to his friend, Hon. George H. Moses, now in the Senate, given us a new hope in the wisdom which we may expect from age. We are naturally interested in anything this man might say, especially when he turns his thoughts to the present international situation. He was a captain, and, later, a lieutenant-colonel in the Civil War, during which he was twice wounded. He was a member of the 44th, 45th, and 53d Congresses. He declined to serve as judge of the United States district court and as minister to China. He was the author of the Blair bill, which provided for extension of Federal aid to education in the States, and of bills establishing the United States Labor Department. When now, at the age of eighty-five, he expresses views relative to the treaty of peace before the Senate we are interested and we feel sure that our readers will also be interested. His letter of September 22, 1919, addressed to Senator Moses, follows.—THE EDITORS.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., *September 22, 1919.*

HON. GEORGE H. MOSES, United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR: Suggestions for world policy of the United States for present consideration:

Let the proposed treaty, League of Nations, and covenant fail or be so modified as to suit the United States, regardless of party. The President and all of us have been imposed upon enough to justify if not to require this.

Let all the secret treaties and understandings to which any of the allies or enemies are, or have been, parties be made public and carried out if they think best, so far as any of them desire to attempt it, provided there be no injury

done to the United States or interests she may feel bound to uphold and defend, in honor, or the dictates of humanity, or by responsibility already incurred.

Treat all negotiations and understandings and proposals involved in the existing international status as null and void so far as the United States is concerned unless the following condition is made fundamental and indispensable—alone securing ultimately everything, without it nothing, to wit:

The adoption and maintenance in each nation of a system of free public instruction and education in all the common branches of knowledge useful in the affairs of this life, including the nature of the different forms of government and of the rights and duties of citizenship under the several forms, especially of autocracy and democracy, so that every child in the world ultimately shall have opportunity to acquire that degree of intelligence and virtue necessary in a government of the people, by the people. Such systems of public schools and education shall be preferably nonsectarian, and shall inculcate the principle of toleration in all matters of religious belief and practice, so that the religious as well as civil liberty may prevail among the people of all nations, whatever may be their general faith, if any be prescribed by custom or local law.

Autocracy is force, and the simplest of all forms of government; democracy is intelligence of the majority, and the most complex of all forms of government.

The majority of the people must know enough to govern themselves or mankind must forever submit to autocracy or to anarchy.

The proposed peace has no foundation stone. It is built upon the sand and shall fall because it is not founded upon the rock of the education of the masses of the people, without which democratic government is impossible.

Such a peace is active preparation for final slavery or still greater wars. The education of the masses of the people is the supreme issue in the whole world. A treaty with China would accomplish the whole thing. Yielding to all other nations the right to make treaties as they please not injurious to the United States or the general principles of humanity, the United States reserves untrammelled the right to enter into any treaty or alliance with the Republic of China which may be agreeable to both republics, to resist encroachments upon or violation of the rights of and for the maintenance and promotion of the democratic form of government in either or in any other nation, and to that end to make war or peace, which treaty may endure for the necessary period of time. Such a treaty might be analogous, but preferably public, to the treaty entered into secretly between Great Britain and Japan when both these nations were interested in China, but were apprehensive of Russian power. With such a treaty all three will let the Republic of China alone. It is safe to say that if such a treaty had been entered into by the United States and China when I most strongly urged it upon former President Taft, there would have been no recent wars in the Orient and probably no World War during the last four years.

All other nations would have taken notice and would have kept the peace. Germany sought world power in China as much as in Europe. She wanted both or no present war.

China and the United States combined would and will hold this world in peace as nothing else will do it. Treaties do not require or often if ever result in the commingling of citizenship or social relations, much less in the assimilation of nations or races.

China has cheap labor, which is capital, and 50,000,000 fighting men, many good officers, and all the resources for overwhelming armies and navies.

The United States has all that China lacks. Capital and educated labor, without which capital is nothing, the best army and coming the best navy. Her officers are inferior to none. They can train the 50,000,000 of men into unflinching fighting masses for the battle field, and China has not yet forgotten the American record of two generations ago nor the Boxer War and American generosity.

Both these nations want peace and united they will have it. And again North and South America, thanks to the Monroe doctrine and the canal and increasing intercourse, are forever one.

We shall not fight Mexico, but we shall keep order, feed her people, and give them schools, work, and better pay. Then, we shall vacate, and God bless her. We shall always be friends if she will let us, but we must have real peace or fight.

Japan has cheap labor, China five times more. Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia have more than enough else to do, and Japan will soon remember our early love and how she became great. She will cease to worship a man as her people study in the common school. Then, she will be free, indeed, seeking peace, not war. And with China secure we shall help them all the more, including Germany, who disciplined our armies until we overthrew Burgoyne alone, when Cilley, of New Hampshire, swore his artillery into our service on the battle field of Saratoga. And France then gave her armies to avenge the loss of Canada and the Empire of India, 15 years before the Bourbon died in 1793. Lafayette was not France, but he led the spirit of young France into the fatherly arms of Washington.

Who can now pass the neglected statue of Steuben and not weep. We did not fight the Germany of Luther and liberty, nor our comrades in the Civil War. There is or there shall be a new Germany, but the Hohenzollern spirit must die.

Yet how can you get full reparation of the damage done by great nations from the fragments of such nations after they are cut up into exempted allied States. All such questions will be solved by the all prevailing sense of justice when once the Hohenzollern is dead.

Then shall be ushered in the day when—

All crimes shall cease and ancient fraud shall fail,
Returning justice lift aloft her scale,
Peace o'er the world her olive wand extend
And white-robed innocence from heaven descend.

To the above it should perhaps be added that education includes character, as well as facts and science. Also, that with a wisdom born of 2,000 years of accumulated Christian discretion in constant action, the Pope in a recent letter, published about the 8th instant, to Cardinal Lucan has thrown the tremendous influence of the Catholic Church in favor of democracy, which is the destruction of autocracy, for that destruction is possible only where the common school and toleration of religious faith are the fundamental law of the land, thus indorsing the leading proposition of these suggestions and ending the long dispute which has separated the two great divisions of Christianity.

Does this mean even more? Will those divisions disappear in a restored and more glorious union than ever prevailed before, just as our Civil War was the birth of liberty for all the nations of the earth? Who knows? Be not faithless, but believing.

Moreover, it should be remembered that the common people of all nations and races have fought side by side with those of the highest civilization, nine-tenths of whom were educated only in the common school. The victims of autocracy all know that the common school has made the difference between them. They will tell their neighbors what they have seen and know, and their neighbors will believe them. Every returning soldier of the oppressed and defective races is now worth 10 missionaries, although the missionary sowed the seed of it all—the almighty God furnishing the seed.

CONSTRUCTIVE ORGANIZATION FOR PEACE

By PROF. FREDERICK J. TEGGART

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A LEAGUE of Nations would be a pact or agreement between certain nations. Concretely, the League would be visible in a bureau consisting of a number of individuals assembled at a given place, presumably Geneva. These individuals would be organized in "sections." Each "section" would be composed of specialists and would be concerned with the study of a specific body of details. On the basis of such study, the "section" would be prepared to make recommendations for action in certain eventualities.

"Section A" of the bureau would of necessity be a great international "general staff." Its duties would be of the highest importance. It would keep informed in minute detail of the military equipment and resources of every country. (This would necessitate the maintenance of an efficient system of espionage, for in such vital matters it would be impossible to trust blindly to the statements of interested parties.) It would make an exhaustive study of the military history and geography of every country, for on this staff would devolve the formulation, in advance, of strategical plans for the coercion of each and every nation.

"Section B" of the bureau would be an international "economic board." This body would inform itself of the resources in raw materials, food-stuffs, and manufactured products of every area. The range of its inquiries would be very great. It would not only tabulate statistics of production, but watch the character of the industries being developed. The investigations of the economic board would be directed to determining how the maximum pressure might be applied in any given case.

It is evident, then, that the officials of the bureau would continue to think of peace as a condition of not-war. Their view of the League would inevitably be that of an instrument for preventing hostilities through the exercise of pressure. Their business would be that of devising ways and means for bringing the maximum pressure, economic and military, to bear against any and every existing political unit.

If we are to have a "new world" we must get some other conception of peace than that of a condition of "not-war." If we are to eliminate war, we must get war out of our minds. This can only be accomplished by thinking of something else. William James, H. G. Wells, and many others have made it plain that we must